

EIFTH SECTION TWELVE PAGES

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SPECIAL FEATURE SUPPLEMENT



A THRON! LOTTING FO

President Yuan of China Denounced by His Former as to enable you to have a free hand fessed that the secret documents would in the matter."

"To have a free hand!" In doing history of our country," would "stain Minister of Justice, Who, Commenting on the Official Telegrams, Brands Yuan as a Traitor

A remarkable story of the secret manœuvring whereby President Yuan Shih-k'ai had himself elected Emperor of China last fall—an office he has since refused—is told in a blue covered pamphlet that has come to THE SUNDAY SUN from Shanghai.

It is entitled "The So-Called People's Will—A Comment on the Secret Telegrams of the Yuan Government." The author is Liang Ch'i-Ch'iao, who helped Yuan to found the Chinese republic and was Minister of Justice under the President, whom he now denounces as a "cowardly usurper," "a traitor to the law of the land," a man who "has used every means to destroy the morality of the entire people."

a "cowardly usurper," "a traitor to the law of the land," a man who "has used every means to destroy the morality of the entire people," and "an arch enemy of humanity according to any moral code."

President Yuan and his official family have consistently declared that the restoration of monarchical government was overwhelmingly demanded by the people. Yet, according to his former intimate, Liang Chi-Ch'iao, the campaign that resulted in Yuan's election as Emperor by the general convention of citizens was engineered from the start by Yuan himself, and the convention was nacked by hear method. by Yuan himself, and the convention was packed by boss methods which went beyond anything that American politicians have devised.

To support his assertions, Liang offers secret telegrams which the Pekin Government sent to the military and civil provincial governors, telling them that the task of the convention would be the election of President Yuan as Emperor and instructing them how to pick the delegates. Liang's exposure, published in English and Chinese, is being privately circulated in China. No word of it has been printed in this country before.

Liang Ch'i-Ch'iao is accepted as one of China's most brilliant

Liang Ch'i-Ch'iao is accepted as one of China's most brilliant and progressive leaders. He was a moving spirit in the attempt of the late Emperor Kuang Hsu to govern China along progressive lines. When the Emperor was imprisoned in 1898 Liang fled to Tokio with a price on his head. There he continued the publication of the first Chinese daily newspaper, which he founded.

Upon the overthrow of the Manchus he was recalled to China to help in forming the republic. He was Minister of Justice in the Cabinet of Hsiung Hsi-ling. Retaining his Cabinet post under President Yuan Shih-k'ai, he was also Comptroller of the Currency and director of the Department of Currency Reform. And now he is heart and soul a believer in the rebellion of the southern provinces against Yuan, which was not quelled by Yuan's decision to renounce the Emperor's crown. Parts of his pamphlet are presented herewith.

By LIANG CH'I-CH'IAO, Former Minister of Justice in the the provinces was drawn by Tuan Chi-

Cabinet of President Yuan Shih-k'ai.

Yuan's own petition, the so-called voting was but Yuan's own voting, the sobe Emperor? I leave my readers to must on no account be altered." called nomination was but Yuan's own answer. comination. So much is obvious to On September 29 Chu Chi-chun, both Chinese and foreign observers. Minister of the Interior, and others what is in my mind. If you will read the text intelligently you will under-Nevertheless Yuan flatters himself that | telegraphed as follows: the world can be easily imposed upon

Yuan and his cabal to suppress them, voting. even if they had 10,000 hands, nor to their eyes and see and close their eyes advantage." and think what wrongs have been done, On October 7 Chu Chi-chun and what crimes have been perpetrated and nine others wired: way the culprit continues to go about | "In the telegrams to be sent by the

selected from among the gentry or should bear as many signatures as poscommon people of the district who are sible. When the enthronement is reading in the provincial capital."

vincial Delegation at Pekin wired: "In order to clothe the proceedings with an appearance of regularity the be sent in. You are therefore requested representatives of the districts, though to draw up these letters in advance." they are really appointed by the highset military and civil officials of the

elected by the districts A telegram from Tuan Chi-kwel, August 30, reads:

"The first step to be taken has now to be decided. We propose that petitions be sent in the name of the citisens of the respective provinces to the Depacity of Legislative Council. • • •

The drafts of the petitions will be made primaries will thoroughly understand behalf of the citizens' representatives. provinces in due course. You will inproceedings to suit our purpose. They
provinces the very same forty-five
should, before the voting, carefully characters were used: "Respectfully

of the gentry and merchants of the Province."

citizens or partisans? I leave my read- so in appearance."

utilize the proceedings to suit our pur-Select those who are "obse- uses?" quious!" names to the several voters, and reures which are in effect coercive, though not so in appearance." What do these phrases mean? And how representatives any freedom of opin-ion? Has such an election ever been

heard of in any country at any age? On October 11 Chu Chi-chun, Minster of the Interior, and nine others When the electors of the districts

have reported themselves at the pro-vincial capital a reception committee will be appointed or special deputies sent to meet them and to exchange views with them. The superintendent of election should then, under cover of inviting them to a social gathering or dinner party, request their presence at his official residence, and improve the occasion by explaining to them the fundamental principles of monarchical government, as well as the general situation in China, and by making known to them the names of those who are to be elected. No stone should be left unturned in attaining the object of the

A telegram from Chu Chi-chun and nine others, dated October 26, reads:

"After the form of the state has been put to a vote the nomination of Yuan Shih-k'ai as Emperor should be made kwei, Military Governor of Mukden, forthwith without further voting. You should address the representatives and and nine others. Whose petitions, tell them that they should nominate URING the agitation for a then, were they? Even the names of Yuan Shih-k'ai as the great Emperor change in the form of govern- the military and civil governors and of the Chinese Empire and that if they ment the so-called discussion those of the gentry and merchants in should signify their assent by standing the twenty odd provinces were all up. • • As for the exact words so-called approval was but Yuan's own inserted by the Pekin Government. to be inserted in the letter of nomina approval, the so-called petition was but Is this the will of the people, the will tion they have been communicated to

Alas! Having copied the telegrame thus far I fail to find words to express

"The superintendents in chief of and has artfully disowned everything the election should, therefore, assume a controlling influence over the Happily the secret telegrams from election proceedings and utilize them the Pekin Government to the military to the best advantage. The representaand civil governors of the provinces tives of the citizens should be elected have been divulged. They bear the dates one for each district and wherever of sending and the names and seals of possible from among the officials who the senders. Photographic copies of are connected with the various Govthe same have been circulated by the ernment organs in the provincial capi-Tunnan military government. Such tal, so that there may be no misunderbeing the case, it is impossible for standing as to the real object of

Again, the text of the petitions from

This telegram shows beyond a doubt plead "not guilty" even if they had that the representative organ of the 10,000 mouths. I beseech my fellow citizens was entirely under the "concountrymen, young and old, and every trolling influence" of high officials and member of the human race to open was "utilized" by them "to the best

arrogantly in broad daylight without general convention of the citizens' representatives for nominating the Em-In support of my assertion I will peror the following words should be point out the important points in the specifically used: 'We respectfully secret telegrams. On September 26, nominate the present President Yuan 1915. Sun Yu-chun, a member of Shih-k'ai as Emperor of the Chinese Yuan's Administrative Council, wired: Empire. The telegrams investing the "A new method for obtaining the Administrative Council with general people's will has to be devised. The powers to act on behalf of the genmilitary and civil governors and the eral convention of the citizens' reprem tary commandants of the provinces sentatives should be despatched in the are requested to call an extraordinary name of the general convention of the meeting of the General Convention of citizens of the provinces. As for the the Citizens, in which each district is telegrams to be sent by the commerto be represented by one person to be cial, military and political bodies they

promulgated by edict letters of con-On September 27 the Society for the gratulation from the general conven-Preservation of Peace and the Pro- tion of the citizens' representatives, as well as from the commercial, military and political bodies, will also have to

From this one can get a clear idea; as to how the nomination of Yuan as province, should still be nominally Emperor originated, how the Administrative Council came to be invested with general powers to act on behalf of Military Governor of Mukden, dated the citizens' representatives, and how Pekin came to be flooded with telegrams of nomination and letters of stand why out of a total number of our own people and foreigners. We course estensibly assume a wavering. The President pulls the string and

Pekin and wired to the respective our implied meaning and utilize the And lastly, you will understand why consider what sort of men are those nominate the present President Yuan who are qualified to be elected, and Shih-k'al as Emperor of the Chinese Now, who made use of the names of the citizens? The Government, of obsequious and of the same mind as it to his helrs for 10,000 generations." course, and that irrespective of any ourselves. These are to be considered &c. Is this the will of the people, the feal consent on the part of those in- as the persons who should be elected. Will of the officials or the will of the terested. Moreover, the citizens peti- The superintendents will then judi- would-be Emperor? I leave my readtioning for a change in the form of clously assign their names to the sevtoning for a change in the form of clously assign their name.

Con Colors, and Colors, and request them to vote tion Bureau wired:

Con Colors, the form of clously assign their name.

Con Colors, and wired:

Con Colors, and request them to vote tion Bureau wired:

Con Colors, and colors, and difficulty wired:

Con Colors, and colors, and difficulty wired:

From this telegram we may know

how the members of the general convention of the citizens' representatives came to be "elected." "Thoroughly control of the citizens' representatives the national salvation fund the follow-

"Judiciously assign their tion Bureau telegraphed as follows: the one hand and for stop the several voters, and request them to vote as directed!" "Meas- nation depends upon the documents A telegram from Chu Chi-chun and

what? "We shall do our utmost to the opening pages of the history of the help you!" With what funds? I need new dynasty," would compromise the say nothing beyond asking the foreign dignity of the State and would not es-financiers who have made loans to us and those of our compatriots who have Concerning the change in the form

came to be "elected." "Thoroughly ing question: "Did you ever expect voting should whenever possible be understand our implied meaning and at the time of subscribing that your carefully observed, so as to clothe the moneys would be devoted to such proceedings with an appearance of regularity and to furnish an excuse On October 11 the National Conven-ion Bureau telegraphed as follows: for suppressing internal discontent on the one hand and for stopping foreign

exchanged between the Government nine others, dated November 7, reads: organs at Pekin and those in the "A certain foreign Power, under the do these phrases mean? And how many evils were implied in them? Were the electors in any wise free to the notice of the public the blame for to the notice of the public the blame for not of one mind and that troubles to elect whom they liked? Had the representatives any freedom of opin-laid upon us. Moreover, as these forced England and Russia to take





Yuan Shih-k'ai, President of China.

the military commandants of the prov- in carrying out these instruction they gram, you have found any difficulty inces from among the officials in the should not hesitate to use measures in raising money to defray the necesprovincial capitals. Are they, then, which in effect are coercive, though not the elections), do not hesitate to inform this bureau privately, and we my own part what surprises me most man pulls a string from behind the lic acts in furtherance of the monarchibroke it, treating it as if it were nother lic acts in furtherance of the monarchibroke it, treating it as if it were nother lic acts in furtherance of the monarchibroke it, treating it as if it were nother lic acts in furtherance of the monarchibroke it, treating it as if it were nother lic acts in furtherance of the monarchibroke it, treating it as if it were nother lic acts in furtherance of the monarchibroke it, treating it as if it were nother lic acts in furtherance of the monarchibroke it, treating it as if it were nother lic acts in furtherance of the monarchibroke it.

ber 21:

"No matter how carefully their have been guarded, still they remain matter should be treated as strictly as permanent records which might compromise us, and in the event of their becoming known to foreigners, we bitter attacks, and, what is worse, should they be handed down as part of the national records, they will stain the opening pages of the history of the new will, we earnestly hope, lose no time in our request."

congratulation from all the provinces 1,700 and odd votes there was not one hope you will appoint one of your conand from all classes of people.

| And compromising attitude so as to his ten or more favorites move. These fidential subordinates to be specially give due regard to international relation or more favorites pull another. A telegram from the national consent the letters of nomination on one and the same day, why all the provinces and the same day, why all the provinces and the same day, why all the provinces and the Administrative Administrative Council, acting in the vention bureau, dated October 10, reads: and the same day, why all the provsecret documents.

Again the National Convention to proceed with the matter at all costs inces invested the Administrative Again the National Convention to proceed with the matter at all costs inces invested the Administrative again the National Convention to proceed with the matter at all costs inces invested the Administrative and the same day, why all the prov-"We trust the superintendents of the Council with general powers to act on Bureau wired under date of Decem- so as to let the foreign Powers know third string and the 1.700 and odd unthat our people are of one mind. The effects of the advice tendered by Japan [meaning the documents] secrets may will ipso facto come to naught. This

confidential." The Government had hoped that by making everything appear better than shall not escape severe criticism and it really was foreign interference could be averted. When, however, advice actually came from the Five Powers it tried to rebut it by quoting the so-called people's will. I know not how

principled men, the self-styled "citi-tens" representatives," move The shameless and infamous acts of those shameless and infamous acts of those

concerned in the monarchical movement are innumerable. Only, as no tangible proof has yet been made pub-

lessly disown everything by saying involved in it? opening pages of the history of the new dynasty. The central Government after carefully considering the matter has concluded that it would be better to sort out and burn the gocuments. You will, we earnestly hope, lose no time in the friendly nations will feel after the friendly nations will feel after that all the telegrams were sent by unscrupulous men on their own responsibility without the least knowly what he said, so that his words have been inconsistent with his toration of peace and order two, and sword in his right hand and a purse will, we earnestly hope, lose no time in the friendly nations will feel after that all the telegrams were sent by unscrupulous men on their own responsibility without the least knowly what he said, so that his words have been inconsistent with his toration of peace and order two, and case Yuan must have been indeed a deeds. His fondness for perfidy and only two, courses are open to Yuan. the friendly nations will feel after that all the telegrams were sent by in his left and by drawing together puppet made of clay and wood, devoid skill in carrying it out makes him the One is for him to resign his present cautiously and secretly carrying out some of the most unscrupulous men of consciousness! Even if we grant greatest hypocrite the world has ever position, the other to slaughter the in the country to do at his bid and the absurd argument that Yuan was seen. How my readers feel after reading call. The whole thing may well be entirely ignorant of what was going these two telegrams I know not. For likened to a puppet show in which a on still what about the numerous pubswore the eath of loyalty. Twice he tions will not interfere in favor of

extreme penalties imposed by the law and the constitution of the land. Yet they were permitted to openly defy the law, and this even in the heart of the national capital. That Yuan should have been ignorant of the affair is out of the question. Why, then, did he not order the dissolution of the society and the arrest of its members?

Take appelled. There remains something very dispraced in the capital and heartrending which I hesitate to say to our foreign friends.

the votes for or against the change in the form of government were opened

indeed men of the lowest and meanest to death. character. Their only ambition is position and money. Still, they are not audacious enough to commit such hideous crimes in an underhand way against the public sentiment of the world. They are like a tame dog who. character. Their only ambition is poworld. They ere like a tame dog who, were sown whose fruit have since polwithout the command of the master, soned the whole political atmosphere. would not dare to bite.

and Yuan alone, is responsible to the fullest extent for the vile intrigues against the republic. And the principal having been ascertained, I submit to my fellow countrymen, young to sink to the level of brutes. This is and old, as well as to our intelligent what Gen. Tsai meant when he said what Gen. and upright foreign friends, my opin-ion as to the charges that should be moral character of our people." Ai-

From a legal point of view Yuan's guilt can be easily determined. But all this is idle talk. The law of the land the weapon with which the State protects itself against crimes, has long since become a dead letter in the hands of none other than the culprit himself, so that the last and the only remedy—force—has to be resorted to in order that the law may be revived.

In order that the law may be revived. in order that the law may be revived Even Yuan's closest friends of thirty

rebels? Are those to be considered This is an open secret which cannot revolutionaries who are trying to pre- escape the notice of even the most serve and protect the existing Govern. Casual observer of Chinese politics. I ment, or those who are scheming to may also quote the case of my humble overthrow it and to set up a diametrically opposite authority in its place? Yuan's colleague for several years and Are those to be considered rebels who have helped him wholeheartedly are trying to obey the existing laws When the monarchical and Constitution of the land, or those was first started 1 tried time and who are trying to set them aside? again to dissuade him from his policy, Council move. These in turn pull a These questions are so simple that but all to no purpose. Do not imag-

fully in the light of the events of the no longer. Though not a brilliant last few months we cannot doubt but writer, I believe that every word of that it is Yuan and his conspirators in-- - - s to sentiments of the nawho are the revolutionaries and rebels. tion. lic, Yuan is still able to cunningly deny them.

Who are the revolutionality and trees. It is the duty of the opposing Yuan our people are every public servant to put forth his trying to get rid of one who is no more I conjecture that when at his wit's utmost strength to quell the rebellion than a traitor according to the law end he will diplomatically and shame- and to bring home the crime to those of the land and an arch enemy of hu

Preservation of Peace." It is clearly his moral sentiments. It is said that an illegal body. No amount of argument can shield its members from the are in the dark, willingly allowing

Take another instance. Before the eleventh day of November last, when but for which I cannot help appealing to them. It is this: During the past four years our officials have been so by the Administrative Council, the morally deprayed that in every ten Government could not have known the we find at least seven or eight whose result of the voting. Yet the so-called consciences have become petrified, so Bureau for the Preparation of Enteronment Ceremonies had already been created in the later of contradiction I been created in the later of contradiction I been created in the latter part of Sep-tember last. Its office was established Knowing the weaknesses of human in the President's executive mansion and its chief, as well as its minor offiand its chief, as well as its minor officials, was appointed by Yuan himself.

As for Tuan Chi-kwel, Chu Chi-chun, Chou Tse-chi, Liang Shih-yi, Yang Tu,
Sun Yu-chun, and the rest, they are Yu-chun and the rest, they are from hearth and home or foully done

For these reasons I say that Yuan. Since he became President he has made things still worse.

nd become once more effective.

Who are revolutionaries? Who are strong disapproval of the monarchy.

manity according to the ethics of any